



From a Distance. Together.

ACTIVATE OR RENEW YOUR MEMBERSHIP TODAY!

nationalities.org/membership

The **Association for the Study of Nationalities** would like to thank you for your past support, and we invite you to renew your membership for 2020. Your membership enables the ASN community to remain strong and continue its mission to advance scholarship in this important field. ASN is an inclusive scholarly **community** built on intellectual contributions of hundreds of members from all over the world. As a self-organizing association, our success depends primarily on a large and committed array of volunteer scholars who devote their time, energy, creative ideas, and efforts to push forward our mission.

Beyond access to ASN's flagship journal *Nationalities Papers*, your membership dues contribute to programs that recognize and promote exceptional works of scholarship, including work by doctoral students.

Membership dues also support **#VirtualASN**, a new online initiative that brings together our worldwide ASN community at a time of physical distance to exchange ideas and engage in critical debates. While our first Virtual ASN events were open to the academic community at large, we also are planning year-round webinars, reading groups, and workshops that will be accessible only to ASN members.

Thank you for your contributions to our community!

nationalities.org/membership

Nationalities Papers is the place to turn for cutting edge multidisciplinary work on nationalism, migration, diasporas, and ethnic conflict. The journal's geographical emphasis is on Central, Eastern, and Southeastern Europe, Russia, Ukraine, the Caucasus, and Eurasia. Our mission is to feature both theoretical and empirical work, and review articles. We publish high-quality peer-reviewed articles from historians, political scientists, sociologists, anthropologists, as well as scholars from other fields.

Instructions for Contributors can be found at cambridge.org/nps-ifc

Subscription information. *Nationalities Papers* is published six times a year (January, March, May, July, September, November) by Cambridge University Press, 1 Liberty Plaza, New York, NY 10006, USA.

The subscription price of Volume 48 (2020) including delivery by air where appropriate (but excluding VAT), is \$1,861.00 (£1,125.00) for institutions print and online; \$1,629.00 (£983.00) for institutions online only. Individual subscriptions are available at \$428.00 (£260.00) for print only.

Orders, which must be accompanied by payment, may be sent to a bookseller, subscription agent or direct to the publisher: Cambridge University Press, Journals Fulfillment Department, 1 Liberty Plaza, New York, NY, 10006, USA; or Cambridge University Press, UPH, Shaftesbury Road, Cambridge CB2 8RU, England. For single issues, please contact subscriptions_newyork@cambridge.org.

Advertising. For information on display ad sizes, rates, and deadlines for copy, please visit the journal homepage at cambridge.org/nps or contact USAdSales@cambridge.org.

ISSN: 0090-5992

EISSN: 1465-3923

© Association for the Study of Nationalities, 2020. All rights reserved.

No part of this publication may be reproduced, in any form or by any means, electronic, photocopying, or otherwise, without permission in writing from Cambridge University Press. Policies, request forms and contacts are available at: <http://www.cambridge.org/about-us/rights-permissions/permissions/permissions-requests/>

Permission to copy (for users in the U.S.A.) is available from Copyright Clearance Center <http://www.copyright.com>, email: info@copyright.com.

Postmaster. Send address changes to *Nationalities Papers*, Cambridge University Press, 1 Liberty Plaza, 20th Floor, New York, NY 10006, USA.

On the Cover. Photo taken by H el ene Thibault: "Two sisters emotionally embrace after one returns from the pilgrimage to Mecca. This photo was taken during my PhD fieldwork in Tajikistan in 2011. I was interested in the everyday practice of Islam and was invited to attend a lavish ceremony to celebrate the return of a mother and her son. Large posters with their photos were hung, and a cameraman videotaped the entire ceremony. Dozens of guests were served food and given presents. These ceremonies demonstrate both the social importance of religion and the valorization of piety. Beyond a desire to fulfil religious duties, the pilgrimage is used to establish one's status, as pilgrims are highly regarded within the community. The ceremonies are actually forbidden – a 2007 law prohibits large home celebrations in order to reduce the expenses of poor families, who often spend thousands of dollars on birthday and wedding parties. The endurance of such events shows that the law was not fully enforced, and that people persisted in the performance of these social rituals."

CONTENTS

State of the Field

- The Ultimate Challenge: Nationalism and Climate Change
Daniele Conversi 625

Special Issue on Migrant Rights, Agency, and Vulnerability

- Migrant Rights, Agency, and Vulnerability: Navigating Contradictions
in the Eurasian Region
Caress Schenk 637
- The Remigration of Afghan Immigrants from Russia
Minna Piipponen and Joni Virkkunen 644
- Muslim Orders in Russia: Trade Networks and *Hijama* Healing
Rano Turaeva 661
- Left Behind? Russia's Entry Bars and Gender Relations in Tajikistan
Natalia Zotova and Jeffrey H. Cohen 675
- Forced Displacement from Ukraine's War-Torn Territories:
Intersectionality and Power Geometry
Irina Kuznetsova and Oksana Mikheieva 690

Articles

- "Nonaligned Citizens": Ethnic Power-Sharing and Nonethnic Identities
in Bosnia Herzegovina. The Case of Sarajevo
Arianna Piacentini 707
- "Suddenly Everyone Started to Love Our Anthem, Our Flag": Identity Construction,
Crisis, and Change in (Almost) Sovereign Kosovo
Alissa Boguslaw 721
- Games of Belonging: Football, Boundaries and Politics between Germany
and Turkey
Stefan Metzger and Özgür Özvatan 737
- The Symbol of the Motherland in the Legitimation and Delegitimation of Power
in Contemporary Russia
Oleg Riabov 752
- LGBT Rights in Bosnia: The Challenge of Nationalism in the Context of Europeanization
Safia Swimelar 768

- Book Reviews** 791

- Erratum** 797

Cambridge Core

For further information about this journal please go to
the journal website at: [cambridge.org/nps](https://doi.org/10.1017/nps)

CAMBRIDGE
UNIVERSITY PRESS